1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

from this part of the robe. At the end of each of these, a bunch of owl-feathers, or rather a piece of owl-skin, was attached. The dancers carried bows, to each end of which seven crow-feathers were tied. Down was fastened to the bowstring at several places. At the handle of the bow a strip of bear-skin, owl-feathers, and some sage were fastened with a buck-skin thong. Four arrows accompanied each bow. One had a metal point, which subsequently was made more effective by medicine. The three other arrows were blunt, or had wooden points that had been chewed soft so as to be harmless.

The pledger, and three other men called "brothers" (hinähäbyiitou), who sat apart from the other dancers in the lodge and acted somewhat differently on certain occasions, had bows that were unornamented, except for the down on the string. These four men wore their robes turned so that the hair was outside, whereas the other dancers wore the dressed side out.

All the dancers were painted entirely red. Their hair was daubed with white paint. They stopped the left ear with a mushroom, such as was used for tinder, and put paint (apparently white) over the ear and the entire left side of the face.

Four young men who would be good workers were selected to be the assistants or servants (atsaan) of this company. They brought wood and water, and performed other services.

The lodge for this dance is described as having been made of travois or tent poles about which tent-skins were drawn. It was open to the east. There was a fire about in the centre. Facing the opening of the lodge was a small partial enclosure or screen constructed on dog-travois. In this were the pledger and his three companions, the "brothers." The dancers are said to have occupied the northern half of the wall in the dancing-lodge; the "grandfathers," behind whom sat the dancers' wives, the southern half. As among the Arapaho, the dancers were divided into two sections; the tall men toward the rear and the short men toward the front, of the lodge. These two divisions competed against each other in the races to follow. The dancers' bows were stood up in the ground in a row just beyond the fire.

During the four days of the dance, the dancers, every morning before sunrise, went to their "grandfathers" to be painted. Apparently they went to their "grandfathers'" tents, and not to the dancing-lodge, for this purpose. The dancers' wives went with them. They were naked, and were painted too. No one but the "grandfather" looked at them. Before being painted, the dancers made incense of sage-leaves on burning charcoal. They also rubbed their bodies with fragrant fir or balsam leaves

Crushed and mixed with fat.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

down, at shoulder height and sang the incense song while the other members of his party joined in, and at the conclusion of the song said: "Yo!" Then he lowered his hand a little, sang with the others the same song, and ended with the recited "Yo!" Finally he further lowered his hand close to the hearth, sang with the others the same song, and at the end made three circles clockwise with his hand around the burning chip saying at each circle: "Yo'ho ho ho" (Yo followed by glottal stop; ho ho ho, in lower pitch, not emphatic), and after the third circle released the peppermint on the chip. Then he turned toward the south, and the same triple rite was repeated, and finally toward the west, with repetition of the rite.

Immediately after this, the retiring keeper, the new keeper, the retiring co-keeper, and the new co-keeper, in this order, fumigated themselves. Each put his (or her) hands palm down, in the peppermint incense smoke, rubbed his hands together, rubbed the left arm from the tips of fingers up to the shoulder with the right palm and the right arm likewise with the left palm. This was done three times. Then three times in succession he put his right palm over the incense, lifted his palm to his mouth, and inhaled. Then he held both palms over the incense and passed them from his mouth up over his face and hair to his occiput.

The Pipe child also went through both the peppermint laving and the fumigating rite in each case after the other four participants.

The retiring keeper next filled the Flat Pipe with tobacco. He took a little tobacco in the five fingers of his right hand, finger tips down, while holding the Pipe by the bowl in his left hand. Poising his right hand about a foot above the bowl, he spat a little. Then he made a pass with the tobacco down a little nearer to the bowl and spat. Next he repeated the pass still nearer, and spat, and put the tobacco in the bowl. Then he filled the bowl with tobacco. Then laid the Pipe down with stem to the east on sage brush between the hearth and the pipe bed. After this a recess was taken. The party chatted and smoked socially or left the lodge.

After the recess, the retiring keeper would say to all: "Let

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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341 346 353 The triangular space between the foot of the Pipe bed and the head of the keeper's bed served the keeper as a place to keep such of his personal and ritual belongings as his peppermint, sage brush, personal smoking pipe, and so forth.

778 788 In good weather, the Pipe bundle was taken outside by the co-keeper in the morning (rite to be described later) and hung up, stem to east, on the outside of the keeper's lodge just above the door, the thong handle of the bundle being looped around a pin of the lodge. About sundown the bundle was brought inside again by the co-keeper to its ritual place. At night the opening of the keeper's lodge was securely closed with a piece of rawhide, shaped like the door, covered with a sort of lattice work of rawhide, and fastened from the inside.

778 The keeper's lodge, as the depository of the Flat Pipe and the dwelling of the consecrated custodians thereof, had to be treated with great respect. This respect was formalized in a number of ritual and other observances.

784 No one was permitted to step over the incense hearth, under penalty of being inflicted with fits.

When the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child took off their moccasins for the night, these had to be deposited, not alongside the beds or under the pillows or anywhere in the "sanctuary," but near the lodge door,—the keeper's to the west of the door, the co-keeper's to the east, the Pipe child's to either the west or the east *ad libitum*. If this were not done, severe headaches would result.

Anyone entering the keeper's lodge or leaving it or passing from one part of it to another, always had to walk clockwise.

784 516 When anything was going on therein, with men and women both present, the men had to sit on the western side, the women on the eastern. When they sat down, they could not sit with legs stretched out in front; the men squatted on their heels with knees touching the ground and legs parallel, while the women sat on their buttocks with their legs to the right side one leg under the other.

784 No one, adult or child, could throw stones or sticks at the keeper's lodge. Children were not allowed to play or fool or romp

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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CHAPTER III

THE FLAT PIPE RITUAL

General Features

Before describing the Flat Pipe rituals in detail, we shall in the interest of clarity take up certain more general features. Some of these are distinctive of the Flat Pipe ritual; others are shared in common with the Feathered Pipe ritual.

Distinctive of the Flat Pipe ritual are earth and water or flood association, peppermint, the number three, and rattles.

As The Boy put it: "The Flat Pipe belongs on the ground, on the surface of the earth, while the Feathered Pipe belongs up above the earth." Or in Coming Daylight's words: "The Flat Pipe comes from the water." The reference here is to the respective origin stories of the two pipes, the Flat Pipe having been given by Earth-maker at the great flood after dry land was made, the Feathered Pipe by Bha'a, the thunder being, during a storm and from the sky. (For details see Nos. 3 and 6 in Appendix.) When the Flat Pipe ceremony was carried out in 1938, the ritual was badly garbled, and the proper offerings were not made. A very destructive flood which shortly after this occurred at Hays where the ceremony was held was attributed to the ill treatment to which the Flat Pipe had just been submitted. The Feathered Pipe is associated with thunderstorms rather than with floods.

In conformity with this ground and water association, the ritual plant used for laving, chewing and incensing in the Flat Pipe ritual was peppermint which "comes from the lowlands down on the ground," "from right along the water," in contrast to the use in the Feathered Pipe and other pipe rituals of sweet-pine needles which "come from up in the hills," "from high altitudes." The peppermint used was not "just every peppermint," not that which grows along streams but that which grows around springs. Coming Daylight used to pick it for her uncle when he was keeper of the

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Flat Pipe. It was dried before being used for ritual purposes. In the olden days the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper had monopolistic control of it in curing. But nowadays a peppermint beverage, good for fits, spasms, and stomach disorder, is used by everybody.

The ritual number of the Flat Pipe is three, whereas that of the Feathered Pipe and the Sacred Lodges is four. Songs are sung three times, ritual gestures are in threes, and so forth. The old people when sitting around smoking socially used often to discuss the reason for this. Some held that Earthmaker sent only three animals down to dive for earth, because, for one reason at least, there were only three animals in the Flat Pipe bundle. Others held he sent four. But regardless of these opposing views on this point in the earthmaking, there was always complete agreement that the Flat Pipe ritual number itself was three, while that in the Feathered Pipe and Sacred Lodge rituals was four.

The musical instrument proper to the Flat Pipe ritual was the rattle (see Plate 1C). The drum, proper to the Feathered Pipe ritual, was not used. In the Flat Pipe ritual, the rattle was shaken clockwise in a sort of circle at breast height, whereas medicine men shook their rattles anti-clockwise and Star Dancers alternately back and forth.[1]

It may be added here that while the Flat Pipe was actually smoked only when it was being ritually transferred to a new keeper and when some individual had vowed to smoke it, and was never danced with, smoking the Feathered Pipe and dancing with it were common.

Among the more significant and more commonly recurring features shared by both the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe rituals were clockwise movements, singing, and the use of paint, buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb, and wild parsley.

Entering and leaving the keeper's lodge, ritual gestures, and so forth were consistently clockwise.

Singing bulked large in the Flat Pipe rite, and, for that matter, in nearly every phase of Gros Ventre religious and social life. As Thomas Main put it speaking for himself and The Boy: "We cannot describe how much singing means in the lives of the Gros

[1] For description of Star Dance, see Flannery, 1953, p. 42.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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Ventres. They *sing!* This subject is one you cannot exhaust. You cannot put in words how they feel about it." 533

Singing, according to The Boy, had its origin at the time of the flood when Earthmaker was floating around on the raft with the Flat Pipe. He was being blown around by the wind, at the mercy of the elements. He was tired and utterly lonely. So he started to think: "I must do something about this. It is too hard. I have had enough of it." And thus he planned the making of dry land by sending the animals diving down for earth. He had all the power to make land from the bits of earth brought up by the turtle and hell-diver, but he decided to do the making solemnly and with dignity. So he composed the earthmaking song: "My holiness (or my power) respond to me (pity me)." He did not whisper or talk it, but sang it, and sang it loud, so that he could be heard all over, so that this first act would last forever, so that it would "be elaborate and have dignity" and would be respected and honored for all time. Up to the moment of the singing of this first song, he had been mute, silent; he had only thought, this was the first utterance. This was the origin of Gros Ventre singing. This song, taught them by Earthmaker, was the first their primeval ancestors ever sang. This first song was sung by Earthmaker four times in succession, to the east, south, west and north. But after this he discarded one of the four animals, the beaver, keeping the other three, and ordained that thenceforth, not four as in the very beginning, but three, should be the Flat Pipe sacred number, and its songs should be sung in threes and multiples thereof, and that ritual movements should be to east, south and west, leaving out the north as he had left out the beaver ("let the beaver stay there where it is cold"). 773 533 [788]

So Earthmaker planned and taught the system of the Flat Pipe ritual, with songs proper to it that could not be sung on other occasions.

Singing was thus originally religious and sacred only. As time went on, songs were sung for other functions, social and political. Singing degenerated among the Gros Ventres and they fell farther and farther down until they made and sang songs for the most trivial things in their lives, and even unworthy things. On their 788 533

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

788 first contact with whites they found that among these latter too
533 singing had in similar fashion degenerated.

Among the birds and animals it was otherwise. They continued to sing as they had done at the earthmaking. They held fast to the privilege given them and did not abuse it or let their singing degenerate. So it was that the Gros Ventres used to go to the tops of buttes, hills and high mountains and to streams and forests, begging these animals and birds to give them songs, and in this measure to restore singing to its former purpose and dignity. But later the Gros Ventres sometimes prevailed even upon the animals and birds to teach them "no-good songs."

Nevertheless in spite of all this badness and degeneration the Gros Ventres never lost sight of the fact that they depended on the Supreme Being for everything. So whenever they had occasion to pray and perform their ceremonies, they sang. And with such sacred singing was so intimately associated the use of the pipe
[276 and tobacco that "one could hardly separate singing and pipe-
782] smoking." In nearly all rites they entered in as a means of imploring the Supreme Being to grant the people's requests. The Gros Ventres learned by experience that if they sang and smoked and followed faithfully the rest of the Flat Pipe ritual, they could at least hope for a hearing by the Supreme Being. Smoking too, it may be added, like singing, later degenerated, a point to which we shall come presently.

533 Practically every Gros Ventre ceremony or social event began or was accompanied with song. And each of the many Gros Ventre songs had to be used on certain and only certain specified occasions. Thus, for example, it would not do at all to sing Pipe songs during social dances or in a hand game or at "good-time" gatherings. Each religious or secular occasion had its own song or set of songs. Very commonly a story teller would in the course of his or her narrative sing the song or songs the characters in the story were supposed to have sung.

Many Gros Ventre songs were wordless. In most of the worded ones, the words consisted of short pregnant phrases or sentences preceded and followed by wordless singing.

Two kinds of singers were recognized and distinguished: those who had good voices, and those who had knowledge of the

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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singers: Tom Bad Road, Charlie Arms, Mrs. Katie Matt Croft, and Mrs. Albert Perry. Apropos of the last two, it may be added that women frequently sang and sing with the men, and the latter "like it when the women join in because this makes the singing colorful and nice."[2]

The Gros Ventres used many kinds of paint; some of Indian, some of white man origin; some in secular, some only in ritual uses. Powdered paints of different colors were gotten from traders and were used to paint parfleches and, by the men, alone, never by the women, to paint their bodies. A yellow paint was also gotten from the Cheyenne or from Cheyenne territory. On one occasion Coming Daylight brought a lot of this yellow paint which she had gathered there and gave enough of it to a Gros Ventre man to paint his big lodge with it. These paints were not sacred. A black paint, obtained from the Standing Rock region, was used in making fine lines on parfleches. Only the old women who made and painted the parfleches were the ones that gathered it, but it was not so sacred as the red paint used in face painting.

This sacred red face paint was in a class by itself, and was used in the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites, by the "grandfathers" in painting the wives during the Sacred Lodge rites, and apparently by the women in everyday painting of their own and the children's faces.[3] This special red paint was called, as also the yellow clay

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[2] About 1900 The Boy went along with the Gros Ventres on a 4th of July visit to the Piegan at Browning. All four groups, the Piegan, Blood, Blackfeet proper, and northern Piegan, were gathered there. In all the four there was only one man, a famous singer, who knew all the ceremonial dance songs, although some of the other Indians knew some of them, and he was imported by the Browning Piegan for the reason. The Boy heard him sing. The man did not have a nice clear voice, but he lived up to his reputation, for he knew the songs and their order for all the many rites and was kept busy all the time. And he cashed in handsomely with horses, blankets and money. He was able to make a living from his singing. The Boy learned some of the songs this man sang, and he sang one of them for us, that had the words: "You who are the ruler of all sacred (powerful) things having to do with all life, give me all of that so that I may use it all my life." The Blackfeet, The Boy added, think more of the Sun than do the Gros Ventres: it is their deity.

[3] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 144-45.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

from which it was made, inao:, a term not used for white traders' paint. 386 [788]

The Gros Ventres used to get it out in the hills on Stiffarm Creek at Curly Head's place. It occurs as a yellow clay or dirt, as a yellow strip or streak in whitish banks or hillsides, or sometimes it was dug up from the ground. Not everyone could gather it; never men even in the old days, although in recent times Little Man used to do so; but only old women, and only certain ones at that. Coming Daylight's grandmother used to gather it and so did Coming Daylight herself who learned the method and ritual of gathering and preparing it from her grandmother. Singer's grandmother used to gather and prepare it, but she herself did not want to do it, although she had the chance to learn from her grandmother. The art and rite were "kind of handed down."

When about to gather the yellow clay, the woman would sit by the deposit, smoke, and while smoking pray that the clay she was about to gather would be abundant and good. An offering, usually of tobacco, was left at the spot. Both in gathering and in baking the clay the woman had to be alone. [782]

The baking of the clay was done at night by the woman who had gathered it. The children could not be around making a noise, and she herself had to be very quiet. She would make a sort of batter of the clay by mixing it with water, and would knead it into flat round cakes with a round hole in the center. A fire, formerly of buffalo chips, more recently of cow manure, was made, and when it died down to coals, the cakes were put at the bottom, covered up with live coals, and a fire built on top. The woman baking did not blow the fire and she shut everything up. If you blew on the fire the whole paint would disappear. The baking had to be done very skillfully to turn out just right. The baking was fraught with some danger, and some fear went with it. If the cakes baked too brown, this was a bad omen. When the cakes were baked sufficiently all the coals were removed and the cakes, blackened on the surface, were taken out and allowed to cool. The black surface was scraped away, leaving the clay now burnt red. This red clay was then pounded to fine powder on a piece of rawhide. [372] [787]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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dog travois had to be resorted to. The old woman thought that she was doing the Pipe a great favor and that her packing it would bring her good fortune.

The co-keeper when afoot and carrying the Pipe bundle in her arms held it under her left armpit with her left arm encircling it and her right arm and hand supporting it from beneath, and with the stem-end of the bundle pointing forward.

The co-keeper was usually very careful to observe the stem-end-forward rule. But if through forgetfulness or absent-mindedness she had carried the bundle bowl-end forward or had hung it on its tripod with the bowl end to the east, she would be to blame. The keeper, co-keeper or Pipe child would be told by the Pipe in a dream about the error while sleeping [that night] on the Pipe bed, and she would have to be ritually cleansed. The keeper and co-keeper would sit on their haunches on the Pipe bed facing each other, he facing east and she west. Peppermint was put on the incense hearth to make a smudge. The keeper then took a bunch of sage brush, some of which he usually kept ready, held it up in his right hand, and prayed to the Supreme Being to release his wife, to take away her mistake, and not to be angry over it. Then he lowered the large brush by three stages, circled it three times around the incense, and "sort of brushed" her with it three times from her head down her right arm and from her head down her left arm, and three times from her chin up over her face to her occiput. Then he laid down the bunch of sage brush between the incense hearth and south edge of the Pipe bed, and said to his wife: "Take this sage brush out." She took it, walked out with it clockwise, turned to her left, that is, in the east, walked a good way off, and lowering it in the usual three stages deposited reverently on the ground.

Grasping and depositing the Flat Pipe bundle were regularly done by the co-keeper in a ritually prescribed manner. Before actually taking hold of it, she would face it, and three times pose at shoulder height her empty right hand, palm down with fingertips joined and pointing away from her, make a motion or pass with her hand toward the bundle while at the same time spitting a bit of chewed peppermint on it, and then bring her hand back to

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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position. In depositing the bundle on its bed, she would lower it gently in three stages, spitting at each one.

When the people were staying for any length of time at a given camp site, the Flat Pipe bundle, which was always kept inside the keeper's lodge during the night time, would regularly in good weather be taken out early in the morning at breakfast time by the co-keeper, with the customary grasping and carrying ritual, and hung up, stem-end pointing east just over the door of the keeper's lodge, not on its tripod. The outside of the keeper's lodge around the door up to full reaching height, about 6 or 7 feet, was painted red. The thong handle of the bundle was looped over, the two projecting ends of a stout pin, skewered horizontally in the tent cover, on the immediate line above the door at the upper edge of the red-painted area.

The bundle would hang over the door all day until about sundown when it would be brought back into the lodge for the night. In bringing it back, the co-keeper walked out of the lodge, unhooked and grasped the bundle, turned clockwise, walked all around the lodge clockwise, entered the lodge, proceeded clockwise to the incense hearth, dipped the stem end of the bundle three times in the smudge, and deposited the bundle in the usual ritual manner, as above described, at the far north end of the Pipe bed.

The final decision as to when and whether the camp, in which the Flat Pipe chanced to be, was to be moved was made by the head man especially the band chiefs and in the olden days the tribal chief too, the keepers having perhaps taken the initiative in calling them together. They would notify the Pipe keeper. Early the next morning the co-keeper with the usual ritual observances would take the Pipe bundle from its bed and carry it and its tripod outside the lodge a little to the north thereof, set up the tripod and hang the bundle on it. The tripod would be set up with two of its legs closer together, and with the third leg stretched out farther, its upper end projecting a little beyond the junction of the three legs. On this projecting end the bundle was hung by the thong handle looped over the end. On other occasions the bundle was hung on the tripod stem-end pointing east. But on this occasion the rule was superseded by another, namely, the third leg

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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High was keeper, he told Al Chandler that one of the sticks in the bundle was already notched on two edges.

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Like the Flat Pipe, the Feathered Pipe also had its own horse, saddle, robe and blankets. The saddle, like a woman's saddle of old times, had two horns from which fringes hung, and a beaded crupper, and was painted red. The horse had to be the best available; no one could ride it, and if it died or was stolen, another had to be provided. The horse had to be very gentle.

Feathered Pipe Ritual

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Certain general features characteristically recur throughout the Feathered Pipe rites, some contrasting with those of the Flat Pipe rites, others common to both cycles.

The following are distinctive of the Feathered Pipe rites: association with air, sky, cloud, rain and storm; sweet pine for smudge; ritual number four; the drum accompaniment for songs; dancing with the Pipe.

The Feathered Pipe, as previously noted, "belongs up above the earth," having been given by Bha'a the storm being and during a violent thunderstorm. In prayer and other ritual it was particularly associated with the sky and storm clouds, with rain and storms.

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For ritual smudge or incense the dried needles of an evergreen, the "sweet pine," nibiya:tɔ, were exclusively used, in accordance with directions given the original first keeper of the Pipe,—in accordance too with the origin of the Pipe from "up above the earth," for the "sweet pine" tree grows only in high altitudes, up on the hills and mountains. The tree grows in the Rocky Mountains, the Sweet Grass Hills, and Eagle Butte, nearer to the present location of the Gros Ventres. The Boy has seen it growing in only about two places, to about 10 feet high on top of Bird Tail Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains, and to about five feet high with a trunk about four inches in diameter on the top of Mission Peak in the Little Rockies. We were unable to secure specimens for botanical identification. The tree was described as "like a fir," or "special kind of pine." It is presumably *Abies sp.* Ritually the needles were mostly used to make incense, and, only

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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exceptionally chewed in contrast to the Flat Pipe peppermint. A bag, painted red all over, about a foot square, and fringed on three sides but with no beading or other decoration, now hangs with the bundle and served, Al Chandler thought, as a container for the dried sweet pine needles.

The ritual number of the Feathered Pipe, running all through the songs and ceremonies, was four, from the days of the first keeper down to most recent times.

The musical instrument used to accompany the songs was, likewise from the time of the first keeper, the drum. According to Garter Snake, the first keeper's drum was painted half black to represent black [storm] clouds and half red to represent the earth. According to Al Chandler, the present drum, about 16 inches in diameter and two inches deep, has a figure of a thunderbird painted in blue on the drumhead against a red background, to represent Bha'a, with zigzag yellow lines from either side of the head to the wings, to represent lightning. A long string is tied to the drum. The drumstick is painted red, the distal end being covered with buckskin "stuffed with something like cotton." Curly Head, when keeper, never used the drum, or even took it out of its covering in which it hung next to the bundle, but Sitting High used it regularly with the songs.[*]

According to Garter Snake, the first keeper had somebody make him a wooden bowl, which still hangs with, not in, the Pipe bundle, but we obtained no information on its type or use. She also stated that the first keeper had a "gourd rattle" or four rattles, but Al Chandler never saw any rattle kept or used with the Feathered Pipe, and no other informant mentioned such.

The Feathered Pipe, like the Flat Pipe, was smoked, in fulfillment of vows, but very rarely. More commonly, in contrast with the Flat Pipe, it was danced with, earlier only by the keeper, in recent decades by others.

General ritual features common to the Feathered Pipe and Flat Pipe,—clockwise movement, singing, the use of paint, of buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley,—have

[*] The drum used in the 1951 rite was apparently undecorated. See Plate 2 C. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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been previously described. Some additional data on tobacco and wild parsley as associated with the Feathered Pipe help fill out the picture.

The keeper of the Feathered Pipe raised tobacco, as did the very first keeper, whose tobacco patch was raided by the people after the great war exploit of his son, He-Who-Dreams-of-Bha'a.

If anyone but the keeper [or co-keeper] touched the "wild parsley" root the delinquent would get fits, out of which he could be brought only by the keeper working on him and "blowing this same stuff on him." Old Deafie did not believe all this and there were other skeptics, some of whom, even small boys, would touch "wild parsley" to test out the belief and would immediately have fits. Al Chandler had heard of many such cases, although he had never seen any himself.

Sitting High used always to carry a couple of pinches of wild parsley in a little buckskin pouch in his pocket to use against rattlesnakes. On one occasion when Al Chandler was about 18 years old he and his grandfather (Sitting High) were at Henry Martin's place on the Hays side of the Bear Paws. Al was eating cherries at the creek bank, saw a big rattlesnake, and shouted to his grandfather. The latter imitated the snake's angry rattle, wet the end of a six-foot willow stick and stuck it in a small bit of wild parsley, then touched the snake with this end, and so "knocked the snake stiff." Some time later Al went to the spot to look and there he found the rattler dead, "bloated and stinking." Al Chandler, on another occasion, near Snake Butte, saw his grandfather kill a rattler in the same manner, merely touching it with the wet parsley-treated end of a stick.

Among the skeptics was Little Man, son of Sitting High and Al's adoptive father. He would even eat "wild parsley." On one occasion, Little Man took Jimmy, Al's three or four-year-old son, with him to the creek to wash, and while there was about to give Jimmy a bit of the wild parsley to eat, "to give him the power to use," when Al happened to see what was going on and told Jimmy: "Don't, that is poison." Little Man laughed and said: "It won't hurt him. I am giving it to him. I was going to give him this power. What is the matter with you? Why don't you eat it?" But Al said:

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

song had also to be sung, apparently to the accompaniment of the drum.

Putting sweet pine needles on the sick person's head, blowing wild parsley on him, and smudging him as doctoring practices have been previously described. According to Singer, if some one were so sick that his life was despaired of, the keeper would take the Feathered Pipe [the bundle, probably] and lay it on him and pray over him, and the sick person would recover, and, she added, "it cured a lot of them." Doctoring power was regularly acquired by reason of acquiring the keepership.

The keeper and co-keeper painted their own faces every morning after breakfast, like the men, in two bands, but broader ones three or four fingers wide, one on the forehead near the hair line and the other from one jaw across the chin to the other jaw.

The Pipe bundle was smudged by the keeper every morning and evening with sweet pine needles. During Curly Head's keepership Cora Chandler and her children were kept busy collecting dried cow dung for the daily smudging ceremony. The keeper made it a practice to "talk" or pray often to the Pipe in his lodge. According to The Boy, the keeper was fearful lest otherwise he might make ritual mistakes, at which the Pipe would be angry. According to Al Chandler, the Pipe being jealous, the keeper "had to talk to it to let it know it was not forgotten or put away; he treated it just like a person."

Customary observances on the occasions of feasts or ordinary meals to guests in the keeper's lodge have been previously described.

When the keeper and the people were camped for any length of time in a given place, the Feathered Pipe bundle was ordinarily taken in the morning from its place of honor opposite the entrance inside the keeper's lodge, hung up outside over the entrance, and brought back inside at eventide.

When the camp was to be moved, the Feathered Pipe keeper, like the Flat Pipe keeper, had, it seems, a consultative voice in the decision and perhaps even veto power at times, although ordinarily the final decision was made by the head men. The decision once made, early in the morning when camp was to be broken, the Feathered Pipe bundle was hung out on its tripod back of the

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782 all to the Supreme Being, in the sense that he was mentioned first in them, and many were directed exclusively to him. Underlying this custom was the belief that all or most of the "good" things humans wished for came immediately or ultimately from him. As Coming Daylight said: "We always start everything with a prayer to Ixtcibni:həhat, then the sun is mentioned and the Last Child. The old timers still pray but the younger ones who have been to school are rather slack about it."

On Sept. 10, 1939, we had a meal and after it general conference with about ten of the oldest men and a couple of the oldest women present, and with The Boy presiding. Three of these older men, in the course of the long conference lasting all afternoon, spoke on the point as follows:

Spotted Bull: "I have always heard the Gros Ventre speak of Ixtcibni:həhat. I have heard the Four Old Men mentioned in prayer, and also Broken Knife, and also the four ridges or periods of the human life span."

Bull Head, about 80 years old in 1939, and though feeble mentally from age, was explicit enough on this matter: "As far back as I can remember, when the Gros Ventres prayed they began their prayer with Ixtcibni:həhat. They mentioned the Four Old Men, too."

Iron Man I: "The Gros Ventres prayed to Ixtcibni:həhat. They did not pray to or worship the sun as did some of the tribes to the north and west of us."

Thomas Main described as follows the way his old grandfather, still a pagan, used to pray, with use of a pipe when a small group of men would gather "to smoke religiously." He had time and again watched his grandfather praying.

782 788 "He would hold the pipe in both hands, with his left hand palm up under the bowl and his right grasping the stem, and with the stem pointing up, nearly vertical. He would look upward first, and then bow his head and close his eyes. Then he would call on the Supreme Being for whatever he was praying for. He would relate what he wanted, with stress on good health, lots of food, no sickness, then [the same] for his immediate relatives, and last for everybody. . . . He would tell his prayer to the Supreme Being,

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saying, 'I am going to ask for these things,' and then mention them, but he would not dwell very long on them. He would get away as quick as he could and do all his talking farther down [to the beings farther down in the scale] out of awe and reverence. 782 788

"After his prayer to the Supreme Being, he would lower the stem of the pipe a little and would pray to the Four Old Men in a body, and ask them for what was needed. This was the main body of his prayer. He would ask them to obtain these things from the Supreme Being. This was the longest part of the prayer.

"Finally he would reverse the pipe bowl with the stem pointing downward and with the tip of the stem as near to touching the ground as possible, without touching it, and would say just a short prayer to the Last Child, who is the least of all the beings. This prayer was shorter than the one to the Many Sacred Beings.

"Then he would straighten up. And all the others who during the pipe prayer had sat with heads bowed, reverent, without looking around, would straighten up too and would say: 'Ei:' (except the one who prayed), which means, in a general sense, may it be so, may it turn out so, we hope thus."

After this the pipe was lit and passed around. Thomas Main added: "The person [his grandfather] would say in his prayer, 'I am not worthy to pray, but I have been called upon to do it,' and would add, 'My being a poor unfortunate old man is all the more reason why my prayer should be heard.'"

Many other beings besides the Supreme Being were prayed to as is evident from the many examples already given. Certain prayers as recorded by us were directed to sacred objects. When Coming Daylight, for example, was disposing of the two rattles belonging to Roasted In Coals' sacred pipe, she prayed to them: "Have pity on us. I pity you because you are not even wrapped up. I take my robe to wrap you in. You are poor like orphans." 782

Thus we have prayers of petition directed to creatures, in this case material though sacred objects, with no mention of the Supreme Being. Was this merely a sort of verbal short cut? Catholics, for instance, frequently word prayers by such short cuts, to the Saints or even to sacred objects, without mention of God,